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A
DISSERTATION
ON THE
HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT
OF THE
ENGLISH VERB.

BY
EMIL SCHWERDTFEGER,
Class '77, Cornell University.



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302. e. 40.

PREFACE.

THE present Dissertation on the English Verb was occasioned by the offer of prizes to my Anglo-Saxon students in The Cornell University, by the Early English Text Society of London, through their Secretary, F. J. Furnivall, Esq., to whom all students of the English language and literature must feel deeply indebted, for the untiring energy he has shown for years, in securing the literal reproduction in type of the best existing MSS. of Early English works.

The prizes consisted of certain valuable publications of the Society. But one subject was given to the classes—"The History and Development of the English Verb"—and the first prize was awarded, without a question as to its superior merit, to the author of this Dissertation; and it was on my testimony to its value as a contribution to the study of the English language, that his friend, Dr. J. C. Rodrigues, editor of "*O Novo Mundo*," in New-York City, to whom he is indebted for his education at The Cornell University, generously offered to print it at his own expense.

It may not be considered out of place to state, that Mr. Schwerdtfeger entered the University at the beginning of the winter term of 1873-74, he not being of the required age, sixteen years, to enter at the beginning of the year. His studies in English philology have all been pursued since his admission to the University. He learned, during the winter term, to read the Anglo-Saxon with perfect ease, and in addition to what was read in class, during the winter and spring terms,

namely, the Anglo-Saxon selections contained in my Hand-Book of Anglo-Saxon and Early English, he read all the Semi-Saxon and Early English selections given, from Lagamon to Chaucer, and either read entire, or examined with care, the works cited on the last page.

This will be considered a pretty good *πάρεργον*, along with all the other studies of the department of the University to which he is attached ; but I make the statement as an evidence of the honest work that has been bestowed upon the Dissertation.

I would add that the author has received no help of any kind in its preparation, beyond the regular instruction of the class-room. The second-proofs were sent to me from New-York, and I was obliged, by reason of other engagements, to read them very hastily. The typographical and other errors will, however, be found to be but few, and those unimportant.

HIRAM CORSON.

THE CORNELL UNIVERSITY, 24 August, 1874.

THE ENGLISH VERB.

I.

THE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD (TILL 1150 A.D.)

§ 1. THE Anglo-Saxon Verb has two voices, the Active and Passive; the latter, however, being found as a simple form only in the past participle, the other parts being compounds of the verbs *weorðan* and *wesan*, used as auxiliaries with the past participle. There may originally have been a special passive form, of which some traces are still perhaps to be found in the weak verbs in *-ian*, the *i* corresponding seemingly to the Old Norse terminations *ga*, *ja*, *ka*; which are allied to the Sanskrit *j*, that has the same functions and is besides used to form the passive; and it seems probable that they (*ga*, *ja*, *ka*) may have been used for the same purpose, before the origin of the modern passive of the Scandinavian languages, formed by adding to the active *-sk* (later *-st*) in O. Norse, and *-s* in Danish and Swedish, these terminations being weakened forms of the reflexive pronoun *sik*.* Of the *Medial* form nothing remains, excepting an

* Vide Holmboe's *Det Oldnorske Verbum*, pp. 2, 12. What he says there may apply also to the A.-S., for as Earle observes: "In fact, it would be hardly too much to say, that a description of the elder verbs of any of these languages (the Germanic) would, with very slight alterations, pass for a description of the elder verbs of any of the others" (*Philology of the English Tongue*, p. 226). "The endings *ga*, *ja*, *ka*," says Holmboe, "indicate partly the purely neutral state of existence (*det reent neutråle Tilstandsbegreb*), partly inchoatives and passives, partly causatives or factives;" and examples may easily be found among the verbs in *-ian*, corresponding to these significations, as: 1.) *steallian*, *wlcian*, to dwell, etc.; 2.) *dagian*, to dawn; *mistian*, to become misty, etc.; 3.) *blðgeian*, to make bloody; *blðcian*, to bleach, etc. It

instance given by Koch, of *ic hǣtte* occurring in the sense of the Gothic *haitada*, I call myself. * But both of these forms must have disappeared at a very early period of the language, in accordance with the general tendency of all the Aryan dialects to discard them, which may be observed already in the Sanskrit in its somewhat irregular use of the Medial, and still more so in the later Indian dialects.†

§ 2. There are five *moods*, the indicative, subjunctive, imperative, infinitive, and participle; two simple *tenses*, the present and past; two *numbers*, singular and plural; the dual, still found in the Gothic, having disappeared from the verb, although still in use with the personal pronouns of the first and second pers.; and three *persons*, the first, second, and third.

§ 3. As in the other Germanic languages, there are two orders of verbs, the *strong* and the *weak*, the former of which form the past by a change of the root-vowel of the infinitive, the so-called *Ablaut* of German grammarians, while the pst. prt. ends in *-en*, either with or without accompanying *Ablaut*. The weak verbs form their past tenses by affixing *-de* or *-te*, either immediately to the root or with a connecting vowel (*o, a, e*), and the past prt. by

is also worthy of remark that most of the verbs in *-ian* are intransitive (Loth's *Angelsächsisch-Englische Grammatik*, p. 115); but it seems to be the general opinion that this *i* is merely a connecting vowel (Mätzner's *Englische Grammatik*, I. 320, Morris's *English Accidence*, p. 173, etc.), and I would therefore be extremely careful to advance this opinion, especially as it is at most only a conjecture.

* Koch's *Englische Grammatik*, I. pp. 243, 343.

† Holmboe's *Oldn. Verb.*, p. 12. "In the Prakrit occurs only the present and imperative of the passive, together with the participles; in Pali it shows strong symptoms of declining use; in Bengalee and Hindustanee it is always circumscribed; in Gothic it has only the indicative and subjunctive present. But few traces of the Medial occur in Prakrit and Gothic, while it has altogether disappeared from the Pali, Bengalee and Hindustanee. In the O. Norse the Medial, as a separate verbal form, is entirely unknown."

adding *-d* or *-t*, sometimes with and sometimes without a connecting vowel. One class of the weak order has moreover a change of the root-vowel in the pst. tense and pst. prt.

§ 4. The *strong verbs* may be divided into 21 classes, according to the root-vowel of the inf. (corresponding to the root-vowel in the 1 p. sg. and entire pl. of the prs. ind., the pres. subj., the imp. and prs. prt.); of the 1 p. sg. of the pst. indic. (corresponding to the 3 p. pst. sg.); of the pl. ind. (corresponding to the 2 p. sg. pst. ind. and the entire pst. subj.) and of the pst. prt. The first 11 of these classes have the same root-vowel in the sg. and pl. of the pst. ind. and subj., while in the remaining 10 classes, the 1 and 3 p. sg. ind. have a vowel different from the other persons of the pst. ind. and the whole pst. subj. The root-vowels of the 21 classes are:

	Infinitive.	Past Sing.	Past Pl.	Past Part.
I.	ea	eô	eô	ea
II.	â	eô	eô	â
III.	eâ	eô	eô	eâ
IV.	ô	eô	eô	ô
V.	ê	eô	eô	ô
VI.	â	ê (eô)	ê (eô)	â
VII.	æ	ê (eô)	ê (eô)	æ
VIII.	a	ê (eô)	ê (eô)	a
IX.	a	ô	ô	a
X.	ea (a)	ô	ô	a (ea, æ, e)
XI.	e (a)	ô	ô	a
XII.	e	æ	æ	e
XIII.	i	æ	æ	e
XIV.	i (eo, e)	ea	ea (æ, â)	i (eo, e)
XV.	e	æ	æ	o
XVI.	i	a	â	u
XVII.	e	æ	u	o

	Infinitive.	Past Sing.	Past Pl.	Past Part.
XVIII.	e (eo, i)	ea	u	o
XIX.	eô (û)	eâ	u	o
XX.	i	â	i	i
XXI.	i	a	u	u*

§ 5. The *present indicative* does not always contain the stem-vowel, and so we find that in the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th classes, the original stem-vowel *a* has been weakened in the pres. to *i*; in the 15th and 16th classes the stem-vowel *a* (*æ*) to *i* (*e*); in the 12th, 13th and 14th the vowel *a* (*ea*, *æ*) also to *i*, *e*; while in the 20th the stem-vowel *i* is strengthened in the pres. to *æ*.† The connecting vowel, which comes between the stem and the personal ending, was in the strong verbs originally *a*, which is already weakened in the Gothic to *i* before *s* and *p*, and this becomes *e* in the A.-S. A few strong verbs have *ia* (*ie*) as a connecting vowel instead of *a*, and *i* has been hardened to *g*, or been broadened to *ig*, and in some words has assimilated.‡ Although the personal ending has fallen off in the 1 p. sg. pres., the connecting vowel has still been retained (*heald-e stand-e*). This personal ending, originally like the others a pronominal stem, was in its full form *-ma*, which was weakened first to *-mi* and then to *-m*, preserved by the West Saxon in only two verbs, *eom* and *beom*; while in the northern dialect it is still found (*ic geseam*, John 4. 19.; *ic gedô*, Luke 12. 18., etc., *Northumbrian Gospels*, Koch), and also in the weakened form *-n* (*ic cufô*, Matthew 6. 25., Koch). The personal ending of the 2 p. was originally *-tva*, which was weakened to *-ti* and then softened to *-si*. It is found in Gothic and Old Saxon as *-s*, which in A.-S. appears

* Loth's *AgS.-E. Grammatik*, p. 104. Corson's *Hand-Book of Anglo-Saxon and Early English*, p. 547.

† Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 256, 268, 272, 288.

‡ Ibid. I. 324-325.

rarely in the ind., the usual ending being *-st*, a strengthened form of the *-s*; but, as with the ending of the 1 p., it is preserved in the North (*þu hæfes*, Luke 12. 19., Koch) and especially frequently when the pronoun follows (*spreces þu*, Matt. 13. 10.; *leornas þu*, Luke 10. 26., Koch) which is sometimes joined enclitically to it (*gesiistu*, Matt. 7. 3; *cucðestu*, 7. 4., Koch). The ending of the 3 p. is *-t*, originally *-ta*, and in a weakened form *-n*, which the O.-S. has as *-d*, and the Gothic and A.-S. as *-p*, while the Northumbrian already shows the modern *-s* (*geheres, does, getimbres*, Luke 7. 24., Koch), which may have been developed from O. Norse *-r*, or may be only a corruption of *ð*, probably the latter, as it elsewhere also takes the place of *-ð*, where no *-r* is to be found in O. Norse; as for instance in the pl. (*we getrymes, we gespreces*, John 3. 11., Koch), where the O. Norse terminations are *-um, -adh, -and*; and in the imp. (*gaas and cucðaðð*, Mark 11. 7., Koch), the O. Norse termination being *-adh*; and we even find it taking the place of the A.-S. subj. (*doðð sua huæd he to iuh gecucðas* [A.-S. *secge-e*] John 2. 5., Koch). In the 2 and 3 p. the connecting vowel *e* is often omitted, the personal endings are joined to the stem, and at the same time the vowel of the 1 p., unless *i, f, ð*, or *æ*, is changed, this being the so-called *Umlaut*; which was, however, probably caused already in the fuller forms by the connecting vowel itself, and then retained by the syn-copated forms. It occurs but rarely in the Sanskrit, more frequently in Zend and Prakrit, a few times in the Greek, and not at all in the Old Persian. In the Germanic languages it is of comparatively recent date, no trace of it being found in the Gothic, and in Old High German it occurs first in the 6th or 7th century. It is especially developed in the Old Norse, A.-S., Middle High German, and modern German, while it is hardly any more felt in English, Dutch, and the Modern Scandinavian dialects.

In A.-S. *e* and *eo* become *i*; sometimes *y*; *u* becomes *y*; *a* becomes *e*; *ea* becomes *e*, and sometimes *y*; *ð* becomes *æ*; *ð* becomes *ē*; and *ed*, *ed*, *d* become *ŷ*, the remaining vowels being unchanged. When in consequence of syn-copation the endings *-st* and *-ð* would come in contact with a dental, various changes take place: after a *-t* of the stem *-st* remains, but *ð* is dropped (*ete*, *ist*, *it*); *-d* of the stem is sometimes dropped before *-st*, and in the 3 p. *-dð* becomes *-t* (*ride*, *rist*, *rit*), but *-nd* of the stem becomes *nt*, before which *ð* in the 3 p. is dropped (*finde*, *finst*, *fiht*); *ð* of the stem is dropped before both terminations (*weorðe*, *wirst*, *wirð*); *-s* of the stem is dropped before *-st* and *ð* in the 3 p. changed to *-t* (*drise*, *drist*, *drist*); and *-st* of the stem is dropped before the termination *-st*, while *ð* is omitted (*berste*, *birst*, *birst*). Besides these changes a final *-h* of the stem is dropped in the 1 p. sg., and a final *-g*, except when preceded by *-n*, is changed to *-h* before *-st* and *ð* (*ic fleð* for *fleðge*; *fleðge*, *fl̥hst*, *fl̥hð*). The personal endings of the pl. were originally compounds: *ma-si* (I and thou = we); *ta-si* (thou and thou = ye); *an-ti* (from the pronominal stem *ana-s*, this one, and *ta*, he, and therefore = he and he = they.) But the endings of the 1 and 2 p. may have been *m-as* and *t-as*, in which case the *m* and *t* would designate the person, while *-as* would denote plurality. Of the Germanic dialects the Gothic and O. H. German show these terminations most clearly, while the A.-S. and the O. S., have but one ending for all three persons, the former *-ð*, the latter *-d*, which are equivalent to the Gothic *-and*, the *-n* having dropped out before the dental. When the pronoun follows the verb *ð* is dropped, and the connecting vowel *a* weakened to *e*. *

* Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 322, 324, 325, 333; Loth's *Ags.-E. Gr.* 102; Corson's *Hand-Book of A.-S.* 545-546; Morris's *Engl. Accid.* 173, 175; Holmboe's *Oldn. Verb.* 28-33; Holmboe's *Det Norske Sprogs Væsentligste Ordforraad*; Brockhaus' *Conversations-Lexikon*, XV. 299.

§ 6. The formation of the *past* of strong verbs is a very striking, though not entirely peculiar, feature of the Germanic languages, and, as Grimm says, is one of their chief beauties.* It is formed, as already mentioned, by *Ablaut*, which occurs with remarkable regularity and agreement in all the languages of this family, thus clearly showing its conscious use as a means of inflection. Strong verbs were undoubtedly originally reduplicative, although in some their reduplication can not be clearly traced; but in those verbs whose past has the vowel of the present, it is so strongly marked, that some grammarians make of them a separate class of *reduplicative verbs*. The verb *dōn* shows undoubted reduplication in its past *dide*. But this method of forming the past tenses was lost at a very early period, not being found in any of the Germanic languages, excepting the Gothic, where it is restricted to long-syllabled stems, and the vowel of reduplication is always *ai*, and not the stem-vowel.† Even the Sanskrit seems to have had a tendency to make away with the use of reduplication, while in the Prakrit and later Indian dialects, it has disappeared without leaving a trace; nor has the Romaic retained any of the Greek reduplication or the Romance languages the little occurring in the Latin.‡ The stem-vowel *a* (*ea*) of the 9th, 10th and 11th classes is heightened to *ø* in the pst. sg., and the stem-vowel *i* of the 20th to *d*.§ There is no connecting vowel in the past and the 1 and 3 p. sg. have no personal endings. The *-e* in the 2 p. (O.-S. *-i*) may have come in from the subj., thus also explaining the *Ablaut* of the plural, unless we would have it agree with the Sanskrit *babar-ita*, in which case it might possibly be the connecting vowel

* *Eine haupt-schönheit unsrer sprachen*, quoted by Earle; Philol. of the E. Tongue, 245.

† Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 330.

‡ Holmboe's *Oldn. Verb.* 23-24.

§ Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 279, 288.

*i** In the pst. pl. the stem-vowel *a* of the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th classes has been weakened to *u*; the stem-vowel *a* (*æ*) of the 15th and 16th classes has been heightened to *d* (*æ*); *a* (*æ*, *ea*) of the 12th, 13th and 14th to *d*, *æ*; and in the 9th, 10th and 11th, *a* (*ea*) to *ð*.† The *o* (O.-S. *u*) in the pl. may have arisen from the *a* in *anti*, while the *-n* found in all three persons has been developed from the 3 p. pl.‡ In the 2 p. sg. and the whole pl. the following final consonants of the stem are changed on account of the following vowels: *-h* is changed to *-g* (*fledh*, *fluge*, *flugon*); *-ð* to *-d* (*wearð*, *wurde*, *wurdon*); *-s* to *-r* (*ceds*, *cure*, *curon*).§

§ 7. The *subjunctive* was originally an optative mood, designated by *ya*, meaning *to go*, which was shortened in the Gothic present to *i*, and heightened in the past to *ja*. The modal *i* comes between the connecting vowel and personal ending, combining in O.-S. with the connecting vowel *a* to *ê*, and in the A.-S. to *-e*, which appears in the singular of both tenses in all persons, while the plural takes *-on* as *-en*, like the ind. pst. pl. The pst. subj. has the same *Ablaut* as the 2 p. sg. and entire pl. of the pst. ind. ||

§ 8. The *imperative* is, properly, no mood, consisting merely of the verbal as present stem, with a pronoun added as a vocative; the original terminations having been *dhi* (from *tva*, thou) and *lat* (*ta-si*, ye). The sg. ending was lost already in the Gothic, which retains a dual form *-ts* and the pl. *-ð*, the latter of which is found also in the A.-S. The connecting vowel *a* is lost in the sg., but reappears in the pl., and, when the pronoun follows, is changed to *e*, while the *ð* is dropped. ¶

* Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 330. † Ibid. I. 256, 268, 272, 279. ‡ Ibid.

§ Corson's *Hand-Book of A.-S.* 546; Loth's *Ag.-E. Gr.* 102.

|| Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 329; Morris's *Engl. Accid.* 173-175.

¶ Ibid. I. 333; Morris's *Engl. Accid.* 175.

§ 9. The Germanic *infinitive* is very old and may be traced back as far as the Sanskrit, which has the inf. ending *-tum*, found also in Pali and Prakrit; but the latter often takes *-dum* instead (cf. the Persian use of both *-ten* and *-den*), and at times even drops *t* or *d*, thus passing over to the Bengalee form in *-on*, *-an*; which is found in the Gothic and other Germanic dialects.* It may correspond also to the Sanskrit nouns in *ana*, as *gam-ana-m*, from *gam*, where *-m* is merely a neuter suffix; and the inf. is, in fact, properly an abstract noun, and in the A.-S. the so-called *dative infinitive* in *-anne* or *-enne* still shows traces of inflection; while in Sanskrit the dative and locative of nouns in *ana* (dat *gam-an-āya*; loc. *gamanê*) were used as infinitives, and the ending *-tum*, like the Latin supine, is the accusative of a nominative in *tus*. † The original locative idea of the inf. seems to be still expressed in modern languages by the accompanying preposition (*à, a* in the Romance languages, *to, su*, etc. in the Germanic dialects, except the Scandinavian branch, which has *at, att*, which in Danish, as in English, must always precede the verb, even where it has no longer the force of a preposition. This *at* is not otherwise used as a preposition in Danish and Swedish, so far as I know; its only independent use being as a conjunction, *that*, but in Icelandic it is also used in the sense of the English word *at*, which may perhaps be derived from it). In the Northumbrian dialect the *-n* of the inf. is dropped (*ge-cuma*, Matt. 14. 28; *cume*, John 8. 22; *cuma*, 21, etc.; Koch).‡ In A.-S. instances may already be found of the later confounding of the prs. prt. with the dat. inf., the Rushwood Gospels having *sawende* instead of *th-sawenne* (Mrc. IV. 3; Madden). Instead of *-enne* we sometimes also find

* Holmboe's *Oldn. Verb.* 14.

† Morris's *Engl. Accid.* 176-177.

‡ Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 341.

-ene, which was occasionally written like the simple inf. (*tō-secan*, Cod. Exon., 217, and in the A.-S. Chronicle, *wealdan*, a° 1123, *halden*, a° 1140, etc.; Madden).*

§ 10. The *present participle* ends in A.-S. in *-nd*, which is joined by a connecting vowel. It is equivalent to the Sanskrit *at*, which is a contraction for *anta*, a form that returns in the inflection. In the Prakrit it occurs partly unchanged, more frequently in the fuller form, and partly with the dental weakened, *-anda* (fem. *-andi*).† In the *past participle* the stem-vowel *a* of the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th classes is weakened to *u*, and the stem-vowel *æ* of the 15th and 16th to *u* (*o*).‡ The Sanskrit made a limited use of the suffix *-na*, which becomes more frequent in Gothic in the metathesized form *an*, which appears in A.-S. weakened to *-en*. The participles have never had reduplication. § The pst. prt. undergoes the same consonantal changes as the pst. tense (cf. § 6. *geflogen*, *geworden*, *gecoren*).

§ 11. *Weak verbs* may be divided into four classes, in the first of which the connecting vowel *o* (or *a*; Gothic and O.-S. *ð*) comes between the stem and the ending *-de*, in the past; in the second *e*, while the third drops the connecting vowel. The fourth also forms its past and pst. prt. with *-de* and *-d* (or, in some cases, *-te* and *-t*), but the root-vowel is changed, not, as in strong verbs, by *Ab-laut*, but rather by *Umlaut*. ¶ The third class in reality belongs to the second, but the connecting vowel was cast out by stems with long vowels, and also by those lengthened by position with *mn*, *ng*, *rm*, *rn*, *ld*, *nd*, *rd*; and finally by stems with short vowels, which assimilate their consonants, so that *lj*, *mj*, *sj*, *dj*, *gj*, *cj*, *pj*, become *ll*, *mm*,

* Madden's *Edition of Laxamon's Brut*, I. xlix.

† Holmboe's *Oldn. Verb.* 15.

§ Ibid. I. 252.

‡ Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 256, 268.

¶ Loth's *Agv.-Engl. Gr.* 114.

ss, dd, gg, cc, pp.* Not much need be said of the prs. ind. and subj., as they agree on the whole with the strong verbs, except that in those of the 1st class the connecting vowel *a* appears in the 2 and 3 p. sg. (*luf-a-st, luf-a-ð*), which in the 1 p. appears as *-ige* (*luf-ige*), and in the pl. as *ia* (*luf-ia-ð*); which is also found in the pl. of the 2d class (*ner-ia-ð*), while in the 2 and 3 p. sg. the connecting vowel *e* appears (*ner-e-st, ner-e-ð*); in the 1 p. sg. *-ie* (*ner-ie*). In the other classes the connecting vowel is either retained or syncopated (*dém[e]ð, sél[e]ð*). Verbs whose stem ends in a double consonant, drop one of the consonants in the 2 and 3 p. sg. ind. (*telle, telst, telð*).†

§ 12. The characteristic of the weak declension is its formation of the past by adding *-de* or *-te* to the root, immediately or with an intervening connecting vowel. Bopp at first thought that in the sg. this was the pst. prt. with personal endings, the Sanskrit giving examples of such formations (*gató smi*, for *gatah asmi*, I have gone); while the pl., in his opinion, was formed by a verb equivalent to *do*, which Grimm afterwards proved to be the case, not only in the pl., but also in the sg., as may be clearly seen in the Gothic inflection of weak verbs (*-da, -des, -da; dēdum dēdun dēdun*), although the verb, with which these weak preterites are formed does not exist independently in Gothic.‡ Another explanation has been proposed by Holmboe: "that *ða* or *ði* (the O. Norse forms) can be considered analogous with the auxiliary *íð*, pl. *íe* in the Hindustanee, which signifies *was, were*, and in the Bengalee seems to have combined with the verbal stem as in the O. Norse."§ The terminations are *-de; -dest; -de-don;* but the editor of the Northumbrian Gospels cites instances

* Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 305-307.

† Corson's *Hand-Book of A.-S.* 550-553; Løth's *Ag.-Engl. Gr.* etc.

‡ Holmboe's *Oldn. Verb.* 25.

§ Holmboe's *Sanskrit og Oldnorsk*, 9-10; *Oldn. Verb.* 26.

from the Cod. Rush. of the 1 and 3 p. sg. ending in *-n* (*ic færdun*, John 8. 42, *ðā cuomon ðe hælend*, Matt. 26, 36, Koch), which, at first sight, would in the former case appear to be the ancient 1 p. termination *-m* in a weakened form, but is probably only a corruption.*

§ 13. The only other difference of the weak verbs from the strong, besides the pst. prt., is in the imp. sg., which in the 1st class retains the connecting vowel (*luf-a*), while verbs having a double consonant, take it single, with *e*. †

§ 14. Compound tenses occur already in A.-S. but not as regularly as in modern English. The *perfect* is formed with the present of *habban* and *wesan*, used auxiliarily with the pst. prt., but with the distinction that *habban* is used with transitives (*ðās ping we habbað be him gewritene*; A.-S. Chr. a° 1087), and *wesan* with intransitives (*7īd is cumen*, John 17. 1). The *pluperfect* is formed with the past of these verbs, observing the same distinction (*He þās bōc hæfde geleornode*, Boeth.; *pe gewordene wæron*, A.-S. Chr. a° 1087). ‡ The *imperfect* is occasionally formed as in modern English, by the past of *dōn* with the inf. (*Nīne gýman ne dydan*, Oros.) *Dōn* is also, but rarely, used with a noun (*þa diden hi alle wunder*, A.-S. Chr. a° 1137). Besides this we find the parts of *wesan* used, as at present, with the pres. prt. (*Gregorius peðnde was*, Ælfric). The present is often used in a *future* sense, as in Gothic, and we also find the parts of *wesan* with the dat. inf., used like the modern *is to be* (*ys tō syllanne*, Matt. 17.

* Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 333.

† Corson's *Hand-Book of A.-S.* 552; Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 333.

‡ The original meaning of possession in the use of *habban* may still be clearly seen in A.-S., in the inflection of the participles, as in the above examples: "we have these things in a written state," etc. A somewhat similar and very curious mode of forming the past in Turkish, is given by Max Müller: "In place of an auxiliary possessive verb, the Turkish language uses an auxiliary possessive pronoun to the same effect." *Lectures*, I. 318.

22; Koch); but the fut. is likewise already formed as in present English by the parts of *willan* and *sculan* with the inf. *Willan*, in its primary meaning as an auxiliary, denotes an action as dependent on the will of the subject, and hence the fut.* It is likewise used to denote repeated action (*And wilddedr þær woldon id irnan*, Boeth.) Holmboe thinks that *sculan* is derived from Sanskrit *śjan*, to consider, just as *munu*, the other fut. auxiliary in O. Norse is allied to Goth. *munan*, to think; but he compares with it *sja*, a suffix used to form the fut., which Bopp regards as a remnant of a lost fut. of *as*, to be (Gramm. p. 903).† But it seems more probable that the original present was *scile*, I kill, so that *seal* denotes "I have slain and must therefore pay the *wer-geld*," hence "I must."‡ It would then be probably allied to Goth. *skilja*, a slayer; A.-S., *scylan*, to cleave; O. Norse *skilja*, Dan. *skjelne*, Swed. *skilja*, to separate; O. Norse *skella*, to strike, hew off; O. Norse *skalk-r*, a sword, a helm. The initial *s* might have dropped off (cf. A.-S. *smeltan*, *melt*; ancient Lat. *stlocus*, *locus*; *stlis*, *lis*, etc.), and it would then possibly be preserved in *cwellan*, to kill, to quell; Dutch *kwelen*, Germ. *quälen*, O. Norse *kvelja*, to torture; Goth. *gal*, torture, etc. As the custom of *wer-geld* is already mentioned by Tacitus in his *Germania*, it must have very early acquired its meaning of obligation, which it has already in Gothic, and which still clearly appears in A.-S., although some cases occur where it has certainly none other than a fut. signification (*We sculon*—

* Koch's *Engl. Gr.* II. 23. Cf. the Persian fut., formed by the verb *k'dhiden* or *k'dsten*, *willan*, used as an auxiliary. Holmboe's *Oldn. Verb.* 27. "In Chinese *śad* means to will, *ngō* is I; hence *ngō śad*, I will. The same root *śad* added to *k'id*, to go, gives us *ngō śad k'id*, I will go, the first germ of our future." Max Müller's *Lectures*, I. 396.

† Holmboe's *Det norske Sprogs Ordforraad*, 309; *Sanskrit og Oldnorsk*, 10-12; *Oldn. Verb.*

‡ Morris's *Engl. Accid.* 185, etc.

ðe sum biſpell reccan, Boeth.). It is used, also, like the Germ. *sollen*, to make a modest statement: "it is said, that —" (*þā sceolde cuman þære helle hund, — se sceolde habban þrīð heafdu*, Boeth. *Der Höllenhund, der drei Köpfe gehabt haben soll, soll gekommen sein*). The modern potential mood is expressed by the auxiliary *cunnan*, which as a transitive verb denotes knowledge (*Me ge cunnon*, John 7. 28; *Hūmeta can þes ſtafas*, 7. 15), and thus naturally came to denote at first an intellectual, afterwards a physical, ability (*I ne canne, i ne mai tellan*, A.-S. Chr. a° 1135), just as we find *scire* sometimes used in the Latin in the sense of *posse* (*Te flagrantis atrox hora Canicula Nescit tangere*, Horace), like the French use of *savoir*. *Magan* also indicates ability or possibility, especially of a physical kind (*Hi ne mihton—begytan*, A.-S. Chr. a° 1083), and *mōtan*, besides its modern use of necessity (*Ac hi moston mid ealle þes cynges wille folgian*, A.-S. Chr. a° 1087), also denotes power (*uton fleðn—þā hwīle ðe we mōton*, Ælfric) and likewise permission (*þæt ic mōte geſeðn*, Ælfric). There is also found a compound imp., formed by an auxiliary *uton* used with the inf. to express a proposal (*uton agifan þam esne his wif*, Boeth.). *Uton* is probably a corruption of the 1 p. pl. subj. prs. of *wītan*, to go.*

§ 15. The forms of the *substantive verb* have 3 roots, from the first of which, *as*, meaning originally to breathe, the present is formed: *eom* (Sansk. *as-mi*, Goth. *i-m*); *eart* (*eas-t*, Sansk. *a-si*, Goth. *i-s*); *is* (here the root *as* is weakened to *is*, and the suffix *-ð* or *-t*, still found in Goth. and Germ., is dropped. Sansk. *as-ti*, Goth. *is-t*); *sind* (this is equivalent to the 3 p. pl. in Sansk. *santi* = *as-santi*; *sindon* is a double pl.; *aron* is found in the Northumbrian

* Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 360-361; II. 22-30; Morris's *Engl. Accid.* 183-192, etc.

dialect, coming probably from the O. Norse 1 p. pl. *erum*. Sansk. *s-mas*, *s-tha*, *s-anti*; Goth. *sij-um*, *sij-uþ*, *si-na*). The subj. prs. is *sle* (*sig*, *sł*, *sed*) for all persons in the sg., and *sten* (*sīn*) for all in the pl. (Sansk. *s-yā-m*, *s-yā-s*, *s-yā-t*; *s-yā-mas*, *s-yā-ta*, *s-yā-nt*; Goth. *si-ja-u*, *sij-ai-s*, *sij-ai*; *sij-ai-ma*, *sij-ai-p*, *sij-ai-na*). The second root (allied to Goth. *visan*, O. Norse *vera*, Sansk. *vas*, to dwell), is declined regularly as a strong verb of the 12th class (*wesan*, *was*, *wæron*, *gewesen*), and is found in the pst. ind. and subj., in the imp., both infinitives and both participles. There is still another root, *bā* (*fui*, *φύω*), the prs., imp., and inf. of which remain;* the present being used, however, more in the sense of a future.

§ 16. There are a number of verbs in the Germanic and other languages, which use the preterites of strong verbs that have been lost, in the present, and from these form new past tenses according to the weak conjugation; and are therefore called *preteritive verbs*. In A.-S. they are:

Infinitive.	1 p. sg. pres.	pl. pres.	pst.
<i>Āgan,</i>	<i>āh,</i>	<i>āgon,</i>	<i>āhte,</i>
<i>Cunnan,</i>	<i>cann,</i>	<i>cunnon,</i>	<i>cāde,</i>
<i>Dugan,</i>	<i>dedh,</i>	<i>dugon,</i>	<i>dohite,</i>
<i>Durran,</i>	<i>dear,</i>	<i>durron,</i>	<i>dorste,</i>
<i>Magan,</i>	<i>mæg,</i>	<i>magon,</i>	<i>meahite,</i>
<i>Mōtan,</i>	<i>mōt,</i>	<i>mōton,</i>	<i>mōste,</i>
<i>Gemunan,</i>	<i>geman,</i>	<i>gemunon,</i>	<i>gemunde,</i>
<i>Sculan,</i>	<i>sceal,</i>	<i>sculon,</i>	<i>scolde,</i>
<i>Unnan,</i>	<i>ann,</i>	<i>unnon,</i>	<i>āde,</i>
<i>Witan,</i>	<i>wit,</i>	<i>witon,</i>	<i>wiste,</i>
<i>purfan,</i>	<i>pearf,</i>	<i>purfon,</i>	<i>porfte,</i>
—	<i>beneah,</i>	<i>benugon,</i>	<i>benohte.</i>

* Morris's *Engl. Accid.* 181-182; Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 345-346; Loth's *Ang.-Engl. Gr.* 127-128.

The original presents of these verbs were probably, *ige*, *cinne* (allied to Goth. *kinnan*, to produce), *deoge*, *deorse*, *mege*, *mate*, *minne*, *scile*, *inne* (this verb is not found in the Gothic), *witte*, *peorfe*. The last one, which is found in Goth. as *nahan*, is defective in A.-S. In these verbs the 1 and 3 p. sg. are uninflected; *unnan*, *magan*, *agan*, and *dugan* have pl. *Ablaut* with *-e* in the 2 p. sg., while *cunnan* and *purfan* take both *cunne*, *purfe* and *canst*, *pearfst*; but the others have lost the strong conjugation of the 2 p. sg.* Of *willan* the Gothic has only the subj., which is also indicated by *he wile*, and the same vowel in the whole present. If it were the ind. *wil* would be expected by pl. *Ablaut*, and this is confirmed by the Northumbrian Gospels. The subj. has here gradually taken the place of the ind. and taken *-l* and *-að*.†

* Koch's *Engl. Gr. I.* 358-359; Loth's *Ags.-Engl. Gr.* 128-131; Morris's *Engl. Accid.* 183-192.

† Koch's *Engl. Gr. I.* 360; Loth's *Ags.-Engl. Gr.* 127.

II.

THE SEMI-SAXON PERIOD (1150-1250).

§ 17. The Semi-Saxon period is represented by the two texts of the BRUT of Laxamon, the ANCREN RIWLE, by Simon of Ghent or Bishop Poor, and the ORMULUM, by Orm, which is of a more recent date than the others, and already shows many of the forms of Old English, while "the language of Laxamon belongs to that transition period in which the ground-work of Anglo-Saxon phraseology and grammar still existed, although gradually yielding to the influence of the popular forms of speech ;"* the language of the Ancren Riwle does not differ from it in any important particular.† With some important differences and in general a great confusion and uncertainty in their uses, the A.-S. inflections are still found, the principal change being the displacement of the vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, in the grammatical terminations by *e*, a process that may also be observed in the High German from the beginning of the 12th century.‡ It begins already in the latter part of the A.-S. Chronicle (*per wes* for *per was*, *ben* for *beðn*, *alse* for *alswð*, *to-deið* for *to-dæið*, etc., a° 1137). Another important change is the so-called *nunation*, which consists in the addition of a final *-n* to certain grammatical terminations. It is especially frequent in text A. of Laxamon, while B. and the Ormulum, which generally drop the *-n*, even in regular forms, show but

* Madden's *Laxamon*, I. xxviii.

† Corson's *Hand-Book of A.-S.* 513.

‡ Hadley's *Introduction to Webster's Dictionary*, § 31.

little of it. Some uncertainty as to its correctness must have existed, even in the earlier text, for many passages occur in it, in which the *-n* has been erased by a second hand and sometimes by the first.* The elision of *-n* is more fixed and regular in B. and O. than in A., which does not discard it wholly in any form, although omitting it occasionally in very many.† These changes and others will be more fully spoken of below, as they occur.

§ 18. The 21 classes of strong verbs are more or less confounded in S.-S., which is even more apparent in A. and B. than in O., where these vowels are used with greater consistency. As in A.-S., strong verbs in *Lax.* change the *i* of the inf. and pres. into *a* or *æ* (B. *o*) in the pst. sg., resuming *i*, however, in the pl. (*arisen, aras, arisen; bilen, bat, bilen*, etc.) The constant tendency in all the Germanic dialects of enlarging the weak conjugation at the expense of the more ancient, the strong, here, too, manifests itself; strong verbs, in some instances, having become weak or using both forms (*baeh* and *borgede; ferde* and *for; scop* and *scupte*, etc.) The later text has sometimes only the weak form, where A. has both (*walkede* for *weolken; iclembe* for *iclumen*, etc.), although in a few instances the contrary takes place (*soch* for *sohte*, etc.) As in the A.-S., certain transitive verbs occur, formed from the preterite of strong neuter verbs; and, although the conjugations are occasionally confounded, they are generally kept distinct, the derivative verb belonging to the weak order (*ærnen, cornen; leggen, liggen*, etc.).‡

§ 19. The 1 p. prs. ind. of strong verbs often ends in *-n*, the use of which may still be seen in the Germ., Dutch, and Friesic *bin* § (cf. the 1 p. pres. in the North-

* Madden's *Lax.* I. xxix.

† Hadley's *Intr. to W.'s D.* § 103.

‡ Madden's *Lax.* I. l.-li.; Hadley's *Intr. to W.'s D.* § 135.

§ Madden's *Lax.* I. xlix.

umbrian dialect, § 5), but the usual ending is *-e* yet. The *nunna*tion already spoken of appears chiefly in the 1 p. sg. in verbs, which may be explained by the ancient Teutonic form *on*, *an*, *en* in the 1 p. sg., but other cases of its occurrence in verbs can not be satisfactorily accounted for.* The 2 p. ends in *-est* (O. *-esst*); but both in the present and in the weak past, the final *-t* is at times dropped, a form prevalent in O. Saxon and which Thorpe also points out as a peculiarity of the Exeter book. It is more common in northern than in southern sources.† The 3 p. ends in *-ep* (O. *-epp*). Neither Lax. nor O. have the *-s* of the Northumbrian dialect. When the base ends in *-d* or *-t* the 3 p. ends in *-t*, as in A.-S. ‡ The variations of vowels in Lax. make it uncertain whether the *Umlaut* of the A.-S. in the 2 and 3 p. still remains, while Orm has decidedly none, but this may be caused by his having only full forms. In the A. R. the vowel of the 3 p. sg. is sometimes changed (*holden*, *halt*; *hoten*, *hat*; *fleon*, *fliht*; *iseon*, *isihð*, the last also changes the vowel in the 2 p., *isihst*).§ The pl. endings are regularly *-ep* for all persons in A., B., and the A. R., but in O. it is of rare occurrence, *-enn* being the regular termination, which was probably derived from the subj. and pst. Some traces of it appear to be found even in A. and B. ¶ In a few instances the pl. in Lax. ends in *-t*, which seems attributable to the scribe (*xið heo wel wexit*, A. 981, Madden). When a pronoun immediately follows the *-p* is dropped as in A.-S., and the ending *-e* is then sometimes, but rarely, affected by *nunna*tion (*fusen we* II. p. 465, Madden). ¶¶

* Madden's *Lax.* I. xxix.

† Ibid. I. xlix.; Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 334, vide also § 5.

‡ Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 336; Madden's *Lax.* I. xlix.; Corson's *Hand-Book of A.-S.* 571.

§ Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 338; Corson's *Hand-Book of A.-S.* 572.

¶ Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 336; Hadley's *Intr. to W.'s D.* § 131.

¶¶ Madden's *Lax.* I. xlix., where he restricts it to the 1 and 2 p.

§ 20. The 1 p. sg. pst. sometimes ends in *-e* in *Lag.*, and rarely takes the final *-n*. In the 2 p. sg. the pl. *Ab-laut* with *-e* is still retained (*pu lîde*, A. 5045; *pu come*, O. 2812, Koch), but O. generally drops the *-e* (*pu gann*, 2805),* and is very frequently subjected to *nunnation*, particularly in weak verbs (*pe corl ferden*, A. 21289, *ferde*, B.)† The pl. *-on* is weakened to *-en* and this to *-e*, which is the rule with both orders of verbs in B., but occurs only occasionally in A. (*isezen*, A. 20755, *isehze*, B.; *ho bilafden*, A. 20765, *hii blefde*, B.), which sometimes also uses *i-* (A.-S. *ge-*) as a prefix (*isezen*, 20755, where B. has also *isehze*), a usage which is rare in the A.-S., if at all known.‡ The 2 p. sg. and entire pl. undergo the same changes as the A.-S. (§ 6). §

§ 21. The terminations of the subj. are the same as in A.-S., *-e* for all persons of the sg., and in the pl. the weakened form *-en*, which sometimes drops the final *-n*. The 2 and 3 p. sg. are subject to *nunnation*, unless some of the instances of its occurrence be considered as elliptical expressions, the inf. being employed and an auxiliary understood; for in some cases, although the verb has a subjunctive force, it certainly appears to be in the inf. (*wunien*, II. 103, *beon*, III. 145, *nimen* and *scriuen*, II. 347, etc., Madden), and this seems also probable with such expressions as, *pat pu lîden*, III. 25, *pat pu cumen*, III. 24, etc. (Madden) and in many other cases. The pst. subj. of one text is occasionally expressed in the other by an auxiliary (*pat he hine grîðede*, A. 31032; *pat he hi.. gripie wolde*, B., Madden). || The pl. *Ab-laut* still

* Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 331; Hadley's *Intr. to W.'s D.* § 137.

† Madden's *Lag.* I. 1. Cf. § 12.

‡ Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 331; Madden's *Lag.* I. 1.

§ Hadley's *Intr. to W.'s D.* § 138.

|| Madden's *Lag.* I. 1. 11.

continues in the pst. subj. (*swunke*, Lax. 17909; *he spake*, O. 16260).*

§ 22. The imp. sg. is simply the verbal stem, as in A.-S., although an *-e* is frequently added as in the 1 and 3 p. sg. pst.† The A.-S. imp. pl. has been weakened to *-eð*, which in A. is subject to *nunation* as well as the sg.‡

§ 23. The inf. ends in *-en* (O. *-enn*), the final *-n* of which is sometimes omitted in text A., and generally so in B., and it is also commonly preceded by the preposition *to*, but is occasionally governed by a preceding verb without a preposition; and in B., as in O. English, *for* is sometimes used for *for to* (*for habbe to cwene*, B. 4380; *to habben to are quene*, A., Madden). Lax. and the A. R. still preserve the dative inf. in *-enne* or *-ne*, while O. has only the simple inf. form, the doubling of the *-n* being merely a sign of a short syllable. The A. R. especially in longer words, frequently confounds it with the inf., and Lax. with the prt. in *-nde* (*pa gon he to fleone*, A. 21650; *po gonne hii to fleonde*, B.), which is more apparent in B. than in A., but is common to both, nor are similar instances wanting in A.-S. (Cf. § 9).§

§ 24. The pres. prt. is extremely rare in S.-S., only 33 instances being found in both texts of Lax., of which A. supplies two thirds. The usual ending in A. is *-ende* or *-inde*, the latter being also the regular form in the A. R. Three participles have the double ending *-ende* and *inge*, and one has *inge* alone. In B. both terminations are found, but the proportion in *-inge* is one half. Occasionally B. has *-ende*, where A. reads *-inge*. Orm has *-ennde*

* Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 332.

† Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 333; Vide Mätzner's *Englische Grammatik*, I. 320-321.

‡ Madden's *Lax.* I. 1.; Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 333.

§ Madden's *Lax.* I. xlix.; Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 340-341; Corson's *Hand-Book of A.-S.* 570.

alone, the forms in *-ing* being substantives as in A.-S. The *-ande* of the Northumbrian gospels is retained only in northern documents.* The participial form in *-inge* is probably a corruption of *-inde* rather than of *-ende* or *-ande*, the sounds of *-inde* and *-inge* being no doubt closely related, and Morris even quotes an instance of their rhyming together (*finde, kervynge*, K. Alys. II. 6551-2).† It is also a curious fact that the Sandwich Islanders can not see the difference between *d* and *g*, ‡ and even Webster “goes so far as to maintain in his Introduction to his English Dictionary, that in English *gl* is pronounced *dl*; glory is pronounced *dlory*” (Max Müller’s Lectures, II. 168-169). The pst. prt. ends in *-en*, the augment *ge-* being represented by the weakened form *i-*, which hardly ever appears in O., while in the A. R. it is almost invariably used, except before certain prefixes. It is declined like an adjective as in A.-S., and as such retains many marks of the former declension, having also traces of the definite and indefinite forms. The final *-n* is generally dropped in B. (*And hii blefde of-slawe*, B. 20765; *and ho bilafden of-slaȝen*, A.) and sometimes in A. The pst. prt. of some verbs is found both strong and weak, as with the pst. tense (*azonged, azeongen*; *ileo-sed* and *iloren*, etc., Madden). §

§ 25. The weak verbs may be divided into two classes: those which form the pst. by adding *-de* (or *-te* after a surd) directly to the root (a *h* or *ch* is sometimes changed to *h* before this *-te* and the root-vowel *e* to *o*, as *sechen*, O.

* Madden’s *Lax.* I. li.; Koch’s *Engl. Gr.* I. 342; Corson’s *Hand-Book of A.-S.* 570; Hadley’s *Intr. to W.’s D.* § 133.

† Morris’s *Engl. Accid.* 180; Morris’s *Agēbite of Inwyrt*, lxiv.; cf. *Genesis and Exodus*, xxxviii.

‡ Max Müller’s *Lectures*, II. 167.

§ Madden’s *Lax.* I. li.; Corson’s *Hand-Book of A.-S.* 566, 570; Hadley’s *Intr. to W.’s D.* § 134.

sekenn, being the same as the 4 class in A.-S.); and those which have an intervening connecting vowel, *e*. The latter class is a remnant of the conjugation in *-ian*, which may be still clearly distinguished, although in O. the *i* of these verbs has been lost. The inf. of this conjugation in A. and the A. R. is *i-en*, while B. has *i* (*wunien*, A. 20960; *wonie*, B.; *iðolien*, A., *polie*, B. 21150; *luuien*, A. R., etc.), no fewer than 65 verbs being thus formed in it, and of these 11 are also found in A.*

§ 26. The terminations of the pres. of weak verbs have changed but little; sg. ind. *-e*, *-est* (O. *-esst*), *-ð* (O. *-þþ*); pl. *-eð* (O. *-enn*). The terminations of the past have likewise remained, the 2 p. sg. rarely dropping the *-t* in *-est*, as in the pres. of strong verbs. This is already found in A.-S. (*þu læstes*, Cæd.; *wendes þu*, 268, 22, Koch).† *Nunnation* is of the most frequent occurrence in the 3 p. sg., but occurs also, as in strong verbs, in the 1 and 2 p., and this, too, is already met with in the Northumbrian gospels (§ 12). Several instances of a contracted form of the pst. tenses occur in both texts, but principally in A.‡ The subj. retains its terminations in both pres. and pst., being subject to *nunnation* like strong verbs. The imp. sg. of the second class ends in *-e* (*-a*, *-e*, in A.-S., vide § 13), which is sometimes omitted

* Madden's *Laz.* I. ii.; Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 340; Corson's *Hand-Book of A.-S.* 577; Hadley's *Intr. to W.'s D.* §§ 139-141.

† Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 327, 334.

‡ Madden's *Laz.* I. i. "*Turne* is probably the contracted (or strong) form of the past tense *turnede*, in the same manner as *wone* for *wonede*, *cleope* for *cleopede*, *somme* for *somnede*, *answere* for *answerede*, *gaderede*, etc., all of which occur in the later text, and similar forms are found nearly two centuries later, in the Wycliffe Bible. In the earlier text, also, we meet with *ȝæreke*, *luue*, *wune*, *make*, *cleope*, *dune*, etc., written by the first hand, but subsequently corrected in some passages to *ȝærekeðe*, *luuede*, *wunede*, *makeðe*, *cleopeðe*, *dunede*. We have also the forms *gaderede*, *answare*, *help*, etc., left uncorrected." III. 454, note to line 1970.

(*loc*, O.; *lok*, B., but both have also *loke*, etc.). The imp. sg. of the other class coincides with the verbal stem, and the pl. in the 1 class is *-eð*, in the 2d *-ieð* (A.-S. *iað*).^{*} What was said of the prt. of strong verbs applies also to weak ones. The pst. prt. of weak verbs, ending in *-d* or *-t* takes *-e* in the pl. and often doubles the consonant in *d* (*ibredde*, *iladde*, etc.), but in B. the *-e* or *-de* is sometimes dropped.[†]

§ 27. The mode of forming the compound tenses of the past has not changed, *Dōn* being still used with the inf. to form the imperfect, and the parts of *Habban* and *Bebn* with the pst. prt. to form the perfect and pluperfect, observing the same distinction in their use as in A.-S. *Willan* and *Sculan* are still the auxiliaries of the fut., which, as in A.-S., is frequently expressed by the present. The O. Norse *munu*, used for the formation of the fut., is employed in nearly the same manner by O. (*Ofdredd patt all his gode dede ne mune himm nohht beon inoh*, 7927, Koch), and is also used in conditional clauses (*For gif he wrohhte bræd off stan þa munnde he seon patt mahhte ann munnde trowwen wel patt he Crist Godes Sune wære*, 11613-11617). *Bebn* is also used, as in A.-S., with the dat. inf. with a fut. signification of necessity or possibility. *Cunnan* the potential auxiliary (*cupenn tellenn*, O. 11969) is still transitive (*cuðe þene wæi*, A. 21559), as well as the similar auxiliary *Magan* (trans.: *he maxx ofer þa*, O. 8042, Koch; aux.: *Ne maxx — libben*, O. 11344). *Mōtan* denotes permission (*gif heo moten liden*, A. 20873) and obligation or necessity (*He mot — ekenn*, O. 57); *purfan*, used as in A.-S. to denote permission (*Ne purfe we — iscon*, A. 8367, Koch), is still found transitive

^{*} Corson's *Hand-Book of A.-S.* 577-580; Hadley's *Intr. to W.'s D.* § 141.

[†] Madden's *Lex.* I. II.

(*Nan mann ne purfte off himm*, O. 16164, Koch). *Lazamon* preserves the imp. auxiliary *Uton* in *uten we* (A. 20635, Koch), where B. has *hotie*. The fut. aux. *Sculan* is also used in an imp. sense (*Ge ne shulen hebben*, A.R.), and *Lætan* inclines in S.-S. to the auxiliary use of modern E, serving to circumscribe the imp. subj. especially in the 1 p. (*Læt deluen þas dich*, A. 15894, Koch).^{*} *Āgan* is still a transitive verb (*al þet he ouhte*, A.R.), but already begins to be used as an auxiliary, *debere*, as in modern E. (*hwī me ouh — luuten*, A.R.), being thus first used in *Lazamon's he ah to don* (8289). I know of no other Germanic dialect in which the verb *Āgan* is thus used, excepting the Icelandic, where it is used both as *own* and *ought* (*vildi ekki starfa þatt, sem hann átti at skipi gjöra*; "would not do the work he ought to do on the ship." *Íslandsk Læsebog*, p. 114); and perhaps this use of *Āgan* was borrowed from it, like the pl. *are*, and other forms.

§ 28. In the substantive verb the northern form *am*, first found in the Northumbrian gospels, is retained and is the only remnant of the 1 p. suffix *-m*. The 2 p. is *ært*, *art*, *eart* (L.), *arrt* (O.), *ert* (A. R.); 3 p. *is* (*iss*, O.); pl. *sunden* (A.), *sinndenn* (O.); subj. prs. *si*, pl. *sion* (not found in O.). Of the second root we have 1 and 3 p. sg. pst. *was* (*wæs*, *wes*, *wass*), 2 p. *wass*, O. (*were?*); pl. *weren* (*wærenn*, O.); subj. sg. *were* (*wære*, O.), *weren* (*wærenn*, O.). *Beon* still retains the fut. force of the A.-S., so that *worðe*, B. represents *beon*, A., and *shal be*, B. 167 (Koch) stands for *he þep* in A. Its parts are: 1 p. *beon* (L.), 2 p. *beost*, *bist* (*best*, O.), 3 p. *beoð*, *beð*, *bið*; pl. *beoð*, *beð*, *bið* (*arn*, *ben*, O.); subj. *beo*; *beon*; imp. sg. *beo*, *be* (L. has also the imp. *wes*, *seo*); pl. *beoð*, *beð*; inf. *beon*, *ben*; pst. prt. *ibeon*, *beon*, *ben*, *ibe*. In B. and O. *eo* is often contracted to *e* (*best*, *ben*, etc.). Negative forms

^{*} Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 357-358; II. 19-30.

occur as in A.-S. by compounding with *ne* (*nam, nart, nis; nas, nere*).*

§ 29. The preteritives are mostly retained, but some have, to a great extent, disappeared. In Lagamon they appear as

Inf.	1 p. sg. prs.	pl. prs.	pst.
<i>Aghen,</i>	<i>ah,</i>	<i>agen,</i>	<i>ahte</i>
<i>Cunne,</i>	<i>can,</i>	<i>cunnen,</i>	<i>cuðe</i>
—	<i>der(r),</i>	<i>durren,</i>	<i>durste (dorste)</i>
—	<i>mæi,</i>	<i>magen,</i>	<i>mihte</i>
—	<i>mot,</i>	<i>moten,</i>	<i>moste</i>
—	<i>scal,</i>	<i>sculen,</i>	<i>scolde</i>
<i>Witen,</i>	<i>wat (wot)</i>	<i>witen,</i>	<i>wuste</i>

Aghen in the A. R. forms the negatives *nouhst, nouh, nowen*. O. besides *cann* has also *cunneþ* in the 3 p. sg. (12276, Koch). *Dugan* seems to have been displaced by *Magan*, being probably retained longer at the north, for O. still has *ic amm þætt þing þatt nohht ne dæh* (4872, Koch); the A. R. also retains the 3 p. sg. *deih*. *Magan* has *mu-ghē, muḡhen* in the prs. pl. ind. and prs. subj. in O., which is probably a corruption. Bosworth cites *mugon* already in A.-S. *W* and *ʒ* often interchanging we find *mauwe*, B. 1520, *marge*, A. (Koch); and in the A. R. we find the pl. *muwen, muwe*, and also instead of *mihte* in the pst. *muhte* and *muhtest*. The A. R., already has the 2 p. sg. prs. of *Mōtan* as *most*, instead of *mote* as in L. and O. *Munan* is preserved by O.; L. has the weak form *munien*. A. has mostly *sc* in the forms of *Sculan*, rarely *sch*, which is the regular form in the A. R., while B. has generally simply *s*. *Unnan* has still a few forms left. *Witan* is best preserved in O.; the A. R. like L. has *wuste* in the pst., and it has likewise the prs. pl. *wuteð*, and the prs. subj.

* Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 345-348; *Corson's Hand-Book. of A.-S.* 580; Hadley's *Intr. to W.'s D.* § 144.

wute. *purfan* occurs in but few forms in the A. R., while L. has only the prs. *Nahan* has altogether disappeared. The *Ablaut* forms *mage*, *age*, *cunne*, etc. first disappear in L., which shows that they were no longer felt as forms of the pst. L. has *wille* and *wolle* in the prs. of the irregular verb *Willan*, and in the subj. *wulle*, *wolle*; O. has *wile* in the prs.; A. R. *wulle*; while the pst. in all is *wolde* (*wollde*, O.).*

* Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 349-359; Corson's *Hand-Book of A.-S.* 580-581.

III.

EARLY ENGLISH PERIOD (1250-1550).

§ 30. "The periods in the history of our language which are known as the Old English and the Middle English, differ chiefly in their vocabulary: in grammatical points they are not so far unlike as to require a separate treatment." (Hadley's *Intr. to W.'s D.* § 147). The strong verbs are now greatly reduced, many having been added to the weak class, a process already seen to take place in S.-S., and which was at work already at a much earlier period and has not yet ceased. The classes of the remaining verbs have become much confused and obscured, and of some we find both weak and strong forms at the same time (*slepte, sleep; wepte, weep; etc.*). The dropping of the final *-n*, already so marked towards the close of the S.-S. period, as seen in B. and especially O., has become general, being freely omitted in all forms, and we even sometimes find the unaccented *e* before the *-n* dropped in writing, as it may have been occasionally in pronunciation, though generally sounded in Chaucer.*

§ 31. The 1 p. sg. prs. still ends in *-e*, but already frequently drops it, and according to the verse it appears to have been usually silent even when written. The 2 p. retains its termination *-est* and the 3 p. *-ep*, but as in the 1 p. the *e* is frequently dropped or interchanged with *i*, *y*. Especially the northern dialects frequently drop the *-t* in the 2 p. and have *es, is, ys*. The Scotch has also the 2 p. in *-is*. *Thou* is often enclitically united to the 2 p.,

* Hadley's *Intr.*, to *W.'s D.* § 165 166.

so that it is doubtful whether the *-t* belongs to the flection or to the *thou* (*woltou, hastou*, P. Plowman, Passus V. 152-153). The *-ep* of the 3 p. is found in Robert of Gloucester, Wycliffe, Chaucer, and Maundeville, but Peter Langtoft and the 'A.-S. and O. E. Psalter' frequently have *-es*, and Chaucer, who himself uses only *-eth*, has the clerks from the north use *-s*. The southern dialect shows the same preference for the inflection *-th*, that Jennings notices in his observations on the dialects of the west of England, and in many cases it distinguishes the sg. from the pl. If the verbal stem ends in *-t* or *-d*, or even in *-s*, *-t* takes the place of *-eth* (*aget, Ag. of Inwyt*, but immediately after, *ageltep*). In some verbs the vowel is changed in the 3 p. sg. (*healden, halt; hoten, hat; etc.*). The pl. in *-ep* is still retained, but the northern dialects here too have *es* (*is, ys*), this form coinciding with the 3 p. sg. The ending *-ep* is found in Robert of Gl.; P. Langtoft has *-ep* and *-es*, P. Plowman, *-eth* and *-en*, the latter being by far the most frequent form in Chaucer and Wycliffe and the regular one in Maundeville. These two terminations are sometimes found together (*Alle that helpen the innocent, And holden with the rightfulle Withouten mede doth hem good And the truthe helpeth*, P. Plwm. p. 57 Mätzner). The *-n* is frequently dropped in the termination *-en*, as in all other endings.*

§ 32. The 1 and 3 p. of the pst. of strong verbs is still properly without personal ending or connecting vowel, but in northern writers they are often supplied with a final *-e* (*atstode—and drof*, R. of Gl.), which may be referred to the 2 p. sg. pst. and the sg. subj. pst., as they were confounded at an early period already. This *-e* was likewise

* Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 325, 334-337; Mätzner's *Engl. Gr.* I. 320-325; Morris's *Axenbite of Inwyte*, lix.-lx. lxxxiv.; Morris's *Early English Alliterative Poems* xx.-xxi.; Hadley's *Intr. to W.'s D.* § 167.

added to other endings, especially those in *-eth* (*comethe and brennethe*, Sir J. Maund.) It was undoubtedly silent, so that we find both forms used together (*toke, tok*, etc.) The 2 p. sg. for a long time retained the pl. *Ablaut* and the termination *-e* (*Thow gete—and breke—and sete*, P. Plwm. p. 386; Mätzner), but this form is exceedingly rare in the northern dialects, and the tendency to cast it off has been seen already in O. (§ 20). But when the distinguishing *Ablaut* was dropped, *-e* not sufficiently indicating the 2 p., the *-est* of weak verbs began to take its place, especially when a weak form of the verb existed. The pl. ending *-en* is found in the southern and Midland dialects, while the northern inflects neither sg. nor pl. of the pst.; the *-n*, however, is frequently dropped. While the *-n* is dropped from the pl. it is frequently transferred to the sg. in Maundeville, reminding of *nunnation* in *Lazamon*.* The southern dialect still preserves the pl. *Ablaut*, but the northern furnishes no examples of it (*starf*, *Az. of Inw.* p. 165; *storven*, p. 67; Morris).†

§ 33. The subj. retains its terminations in both numbers of both tenses, although *-n* is not frequently found. The *-n* of the subj. is frequently dropped already in the A.-S., when followed by a pronoun, as with the *-að* of the pres. pl. and imp. pl. (*hwæt eƿe we, hwæt drince we*, *Matt.* 6, 31; *Koch*).‡

§ 34. The imp. of the sg. often adds a final *-e*; the pl. ends in *-þ* (*herkeneth, taketh*, *Ch. Cant. Tales*, 782–783), which the northern dialects have as usual in the form *-s*. Already before the end of the 14th century, however, the sg. form is found occasionally for the pl. (*Adraweþ zoure suerdes, and loke*—*R. of Gl.*). The subj. with *we was*

* Mätzner's *Engl. Gr.* I. 321, 325–326; Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 330–331, 334–337; Morris's *Az. of Inw.* lx.–lxi.; Hadley's *Intr. to W.'s D.* § 168.

† Morris's *Az. of Inw.* lxi.

‡ Hadley's *Intr. to W.'s D.* § 170; Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 337.

early used for the imp. (*Go we, and sle we hym, and putte we hym in an olde sistern*, Gen. xxxvii. 20).*

§ 35. The inf. generally drops the *-n* of the termination and appears as *-e*, the common form in Wycliffe, and especially frequent in the north. Chaucer uses both forms, but the fuller is comparatively rare, and seems to have been required more by the verse, to prevent the *-e* from being elided before a following vowel. Thus there are 221 infinitives in the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, of which 2 drop the inf. ending entirely, 175 drop the *-n* and only 44 have retained it. Of these, 33 stand before vowels and 10 alone before consonants, while 1 ends a line. Of the infinitives in *-e*, 64 end lines, 50 stand before consonants, and the remaining 61 before vowels, most of them being elided. The dat. inf. survived as late as the 14th century, but it generally appears like the simple inf. (*to nimene and of-hyealde*, *Alg.* of Inw.), and may probably still be seen in the so-called long forms of Chaucer's inf. (*to done, to slane*). The dat. inf. early became confounded with the pres. prt., and when the latter was changed to *-inge* or *-ing* it also assumed that form.†

§ 36. In southern dialects, the pres. prt. ends in *-inde*, in the Midland in *-end*, and in the northern in *-ande*; but in the first two the tendency to use the form in *-inge*, shown already in S.-S. (§ 24), is very strongly marked. R. of Gl. has *-inde*, *-ynde* and *-inge*; Trevisa (A.D. 1387) uses only *-inge* or *-ing*, while Peter Langtoft, Sir Tristrem, and the Psalter, have only *-and*, which is rarely used by Chaucer, he usually having *-ing*, while his contemporary, Gower, generally uses the Midland form *-end*. In Wycliffe,

* Mätzner's *Engl. Gr.* I. 326-327; Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 333, 337; Morris's *Alg. of Inw.* lxxvii.-lxxxii.; Hadley's *Intr. to W.'s D.* § 171.

† Mätzner's *Engl. Gr.* I. 328; Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 340-342; Hadley's *Intr. to W.'s D.* § 172; Morris's *Alg. of Inw.* lxiii.; Morris's *Engl. Accid.* 176-177.

the translations vary, Purvey's revision has only *-inge*, *-ynge* as participle and substantive, while in the original 13 books distinguish between *-inge* and *-ende*. Northern writers never omit the *-n* of the pst. prt., while it is very frequently omitted in the southern dialects, all Trevisa's pst. participles of strong verbs ending in *-e*. The full form is often retained, however, when the participle is used as an adjective in the pl., as *ybrokene*, etc. Chaucer drops the *-n* even from participles, which is never done in modern English, and, indeed, there seems to be a tendency at present to restore it to all past participles (*hadde he be*, C. T. 60). The southern dialect retained the *i*- or *y*- as a prefix up to a very late time, while the northern omits it entirely, and Midland writers, with northern tendencies, like Orm, frequently drop it.*

§ 37. The connecting vowel, *o*, of weak verbs, is occasionally yet preserved in the past, but was lost at an early period, while *i* (*e*, *j*, *ig*) long remained in many forms. Thus *y* (*i*) is found in the ind. and subj. pres. for *j* and *ig*, and where it is transferred to the pst. tense and pst. prt. the connecting vowel appears twice, both as *y* (*i*) and *-e* (*ymaried*, R. of Gl.). It is, however, of most frequent occurrence in the inf. as *ie*, *ye*, *y*, *yen* (*serui* and *ponki* — *louie* and *worscipe*, Az. of Inw.), being very common in the southern dialect and occurring also in the West Midland, but very rarely so in the East Midland and not at all in the northern. Old French verbs in *-ier* were analogously treated, and other A.-S. and French ones assimilated to them (*susteini*, *conseili*, *robby*, etc. R. of Gl.)

§ 38. The past of weak verbs has the same endings as the strong and is affected by the same changes. The

* Mätzner's *Engl. Gr.* I. 327-328; Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 342; Hadley's *Intr. to W.'s D.* § 173-174; Morris's *Az. of Inw.* lxiv.-lxv.; Morris's *Eng. Accid.* 180.

1 and 3 p. sg. end in *-de*, with or without the connecting vowel *-e* (*louede, tealde*, etc.); and, as may be seen in the latter example, the *Umlaut* form of the pst. has still been preserved. The 2 p. ends generally in *-est*, but in the same manner as this *-est* has affected the 2 p. sg. of strong verbs, it has itself been affected by the regular ending of strong verbs, which it occasionally takes (*Thou maide*, Townely Myst. p. 20, Mätzner). The pl. ends in *-en*, often dropping the *-n*. The imp. sg. in *-e* is still preserved (*Make me*, Luke 15. 19). The pst. prt. ends in *-ed*, but *-id* is also found (*embrowdid*, C. T. 89), even as late as Burns (*biggit*, etc.), and it occurs also as *-ud* (*bathud*, C. T. 3, *enspirud*, 6, etc.).* This connecting vowel *-u* is found likewise in other forms (*pou—bryngust*; *me clepuy*, R. of Gl.).

§ 39. Chaucer and others still occasionally use *Weorðan* to form the passive (*worth cheyned*, P. P., Mätzner), but *Beðn* has almost displaced it. The distinction between *Beðn* and *Habban* in the formation of the perfect and plup. has partly been lost, the latter being used with both classes (*has—be* ? Townely Myst., Mätzner; *is abide*, Trevisa). The past of *Beðn* is used with the pres. prt. to form the imperf. (*Syngynge he was, or flowtyng—*, C. T. 91). Besides *Dōn* there was another auxiliary used to form the imperf., *gan* (*gan—praye*, C. T., 302; *gan wende*, R. of Gl.), which was probably displaced by the other, but still exists as a compound in *be-gan*. *Sculan* and *Willan*, as auxiliaries of the fut. were not yet distinguished as in modern English, but used indiscriminately. The latter is frequently yet transitive (*he wolde*, Isaiah, 53. 7; *I wolde*, 55, 11). The past of these auxiliaries is

* Mätzner's *Engl. Gr.* I. 153, 320, 325, 327–328; Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 333, 335, 341; Morris's *Angl. of Inw.* lx., lxiv.; Morris's *Engl. Accid.* 173; Hadley's *Intr. to W.'s D.* § 169.

used to form the conditional mood (*zef he schulde*, R. of Gl.) *Bedn*, as at all other periods of the language, is used with the dat. inf. with a fut. sense of necessity (*pinges pat to comene bep*, R. of Gl. 3056, Koch). *Cunnan*, the potential auxiliary (*couthe endite—couthe pynche—couthe pleyn*, C. T. 327–329), is still frequently used in its original signification of knowledge (*the wisdom that he can*, C. T. 373). As an auxiliary it is probably in great part an imitation of the French *savoir*, although occurring already in A.-S. (§ 14). *Magan*, having the auxiliary force of *Cunnan* (*ne myzte non atstonde*, R. of Gl.), is sometimes still used transitively (*hii noht ne myzte*, R. of Gl.). *Mōtan* is still used to denote permission (*Welcome mote pou be*, 10680, R. of Gl. Koch), and, as at present, to express obligation (*Men mooten given*—C. T. 232); the past *most*, beginning to be used, as in modern English, in a present sense. *Agan* as a transitive verb was gradually displaced by *own*, which has come either from the verb *āgnian*, or from the pst. prt. *āgen*, *awen*, *owen*, which became adjective in its use. The present forms of the verb are found as auxiliaries (*I own not to be conseiled by thee*, Mel. Koch), but the past, *ought*, began to be used as a present. An impersonal form is also in use (*Well ought us—honouren*, *Legende* of G. W. 27). A compound imp. is formed by *Lētan* with the inf. (*Let se*—C. T. 833), and *Dōn* is used in a similar manner, being thus first applied, according to Morris, by Lydgate (*Do gyf glory*—Morris) but this use may already be found in A.-S. (*Swað dōð nu—wiðstandan*, Koch). It did not, however, come into general use till the 15th century. *Sculan* is also used imperatively (*pou ne ssellt zuerie*, A3. of Inw.)*

* Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 358, II. 19–30; Mätzner's *Engl. Gr.* I. 314, 316, 374; Morris's *Engl. Accid.* 183–192; Earle's *Phil. of the Engl. Tongue*, 249–253.

§ 40. In the substantive verb, the forms of the root *as* are with slight variations identical with those of modern English: we find *ert* beside *art*, *es* beside *is*, and *ere*, *er*, *arn* beside *are*; while the 'A.-S. and O. E. Psalter' furnishes an example of *is* for *art*. The root *bū* is still found in the entire present (*be*, *beest*, *bes*; *bep*, *ben*, or *be*); in the pres. subj. (*be*); the imp. (*be*, *bep*, *bes*); the inf. (*ben*, *bin*, *beo*, *be*); pres. prt. (*beende*); pst. prt. (*bene*, *bien*, *ben*). These parts are still sometimes used in a fut. sense as in A.-S. and S.-S. The 1 and 3 p. sg. of the past are *was* or *wes*; the 2 p. is uncertain, the pl. *Ablaut* form, *were*, being yet retained, but as this *Ablaut* was disappearing from the language we also find *was* (cf. 2 p. sg. of O. § 28) and the modern form *wast*. The pst. subj. is *were* in all persons and numbers. The negative forms *nam*, *nis*, *nes*, *ner* are used very little by northern writers, but very frequently in the southern dialect.*

§ 41. The preteritives are

Inf.	1 p. sg. pres.	pl. pres.	past.
<i>Owen</i> ,	<i>auh</i> ,	<i>owen</i> ,	<i>owzte</i> .
<i>Conne</i> ,	<i>çan (con)</i> ,	<i>cunnen (o)</i> ,	<i>coude</i> .
<i>Daren</i> ,	<i>dar</i> ,	<i>durren</i> ,	<i>dorste</i> .
<i>Mowe</i> ,	<i>may</i> ,	<i>mawen</i> ,	<i>myzte</i> .
<i>Moten</i> ,	<i>mot</i> ,	<i>moten</i> ,	<i>moste</i> .
—,	<i>schall</i> ,	<i>schullen</i> ,	<i>schulde (o)</i> .
<i>Witen</i> ,	<i>wot (wat)</i> ,	<i>witen</i> ,	<i>wiste</i> .

Dugan has not yet entirely disappeared (*non ne deg*, Peter Langtoft, 7445, Koch). *Magan* (*mowe*) still preserves *myzt* in the 2 p. sg., and we find also the pres. prt. *myztand* and the pst. prt. *myght*. *Munan* has entirely disappeared and *Unnan* nearly so. *purfan* has likewise almost disappeared, and where it is met with it has been cor-

* Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 347-348; Mätzner's *Engl. Gr.* 366-367; Morris's *Ag. of Inw.* lxx. lxxxiv.; Morris's *Engl. Accid.* 181-182.

rupted to *thar*, which Chaucer uses impersonally (*hym thar not winnen wel*, 4318, Koch). The old form *tharf* is still found in *Sir Tristrem* (*tharf him*, 3. 69, Koch). *Willan* is nearly unchanged (*wolen*, *will* [*woll*], *wilen* [*wolen*], *wolde*). In these verbs the 2 p. sg. very frequently drops its personal endings (*thou can*, etc.).*

* Mätzner's *Engl. Gr.* I. 322, 370-374; Koch's *Engl. Gr.* 349-359; Morris's *Ag. of Inw.* lxxxiv.-lxxxv.; Morris's *Engl. Accid.* 183-191; Earle's *Phil. of the Engl. Tongue*, 250.

IV.

ELIZABETHAN AND MODERN ENGLISH.

§ 42. The English of the Elizabethan period was in its forms and vocabulary materially the same as the modern, but still there are some important differences, but mostly of a syntactical nature. "It must be remembered that the Elizabethan was a transitional period in the history of the English language (Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, p. 6); it was an age of experiments, and the experiments were not always successful" (Abbott, p. 15). Thus adjectives are used with the utmost freedom as verbs without adding the ending *-en*, which Abbott calls the old infinitive termination, and which has been restored in modern English, as well as in the *pst. prt.* of strong verbs, the *-en* of which was frequently omitted, in accordance with the tendency of the time to drop the *-n*. There was also a great freedom in changing intransitives to transitives and *vice versa*, but this is a general peculiarity of the English,* and not of the Elizabethan period alone. Impersonal verbs are also more frequently used than at present (*she opposes her* Two G. of Verona, III. 2; *the music likes you not*, IV. 2); and as "an abundance of impersonal verbs is a mark of an early stage in a language" (Abbott), we find more in Early English than in Elizabethan, more in A.-S. than in Early English.†

* *Keine Sprache bedient sich der Freiheit die Thätigkeitsbegriffe zu vertauschen in demselben Umfange wie die Englische*, Mätzner's *Engl. Gr.* I. 310.

† Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 290-297; Mätzner's *Engl. Gr.* I. 309-313.

§ 43. The sg. endings were the same as they are now, the 1 p. having no termination, the 2 p. *-est*, the 3 p. *-eth* or *-s*, and as now *in terminationibus -est -eth -ed vocalis e, fere ad placitum per syncopen tollitur* (J. Wallis, Mätzner). The termination *-es* (*-is*, *-ys*) of the 2 p., frequently found in northern dialects (cf. § 31) is occasionally still used at a very late period (*comes thou*, M. N. D. III. 2). This is of particularly frequent occurrence in verbs ending in *-t*, *-est*, and is used perhaps for the sake of euphony (*call'st—and affrights*, B. and Fl., Abbott). The pl. of the present is uninflected, but we still find traces of older forms, the one in *-en* being regularly used till a very late period: "The persons plural keep the termination of the first person singular. In former times, till about the reign of King Henry VIII. they were wont to be formed by adding *en* thus:—Loven, sayen, complainen. But now (whatever is the cause) it is quite grown out of use, and that other so generally prevailed that I dare not presume to set this on foot again" (Ben Jonson, Abbott). Spenser very frequently uses it as an archaic form, and it is sometimes also used thus by Shakespeare (*waxen*, M. N. D. II. 1). It is still preserved dialectically, as in Lancashire, Gloucestershire, and other counties. The terminations *-eth* and *-es* remained longer than *-en*, being found till late in the 17th century, especially in northern writers (*rebels—prevails, drawgoons does*, Cleland's poems [1697], p. 30, Mätzner). This form remained particularly in the 3 p. pl., and in Shakespeare is often thus found as *-s*, but is generally altered by modern editors. This almost seems to have been the regular inflection "when the subject is as yet future, and, as it were, unsettled" (Abbott), being particularly common in the phrase *there is* (*But there is two hard things*, M. N. D. III. 1; *There is two or three lords and ladies more married*, IV. 2). But it is sometimes only seemingly a plural, the verb not having the

preceding pl. noun, but the clause as its subject (*And all their minds transfigured so together, More witnesseth than fancy's images*, M. N. D. V. 1), and the -s inflection is also frequently used when two singular nouns are the subject (*Hanging and wiving goes by destiny*, M. of V., II. 9, Abbott), but other Shakespearian plurals in -s may be considered misprints.*

§ 44. Not much need be said of the past of strong verbs, except that Shakespeare shows a preference for *u* in verbs of the 21st A.-S. class (*sung, swum*, etc.). This vowel of the past is a relic of the pl. *Ablaut*, which has otherwise disappeared, although Byron is quoted as still using it in the 2 p. sg. (*Thou, who didst call the furies from the abyss, And round Orestes bade them howl and hiss*), but he also uses this form in a weak verb (*thou once formed*), but this Mätzner explains as being a weak verb affected by the ending of the 2 p. sg. pst. of strong verbs (cf. § 38.) Verbs whose inf. ends in -t are more frequently unchanged in the past in Shakespeare than at present (*Stood Dido—and waft*, M. of V. v. 1. Abbott). †

§ 45. The subj. was much more frequently used than now, but, having the same form as the ind. it can sometimes be recognized by the context alone; in which case it is occasionally placed before the subject (*Did I tell this—who would believe me?* M. for M. II. 4, Abbott; cf. the German: *Sagte ich dies wer würde mir glauben?*) The simple form is sometimes used together with the auxiliary one (*If thou wert the lion, the fox would beguile thee*, etc. T. of Ath. IV. 3. Abbott). Where neither doubt nor

* Mätzner's *Engl. Gr.* I. 321-325; Abbott's *Shakespearian Gr.* p. 8; § 332-340. This plural may possibly be preserved among the lower orders, who use it in all persons of both numbers (*I wants, you wants, they pretends*, etc. Martin Chuzzlewit, Ch. 49), it having perhaps crept into the 1 and 2 p. sg. from analogy with the pl. and the 3 p. sg.

† Mätzner's *Engl. Gr.* I. 325; Abbott's *Shakesp. Gr.* § 339-341.

futurity is implied, the indic. takes the place of the subj., but these moods are sometimes used indiscriminately together (*Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest*—Matt. 5. 23, Abbott). The optative subj. was much more frequently used than in modern poetry (*Oh, that that were out!* Two G. of V. III. 1). The subj. is frequently used, with or without *that*, to express purpose, but sometimes it is also used after *that* in dependent sentences, where simple futurity is implied (*I doubt not you [will] sustain what you're worthy of by your attempt*, Cymb. I. 4, Abbott), and it is likewise common after verbs of command, since command implies a purpose (*Take heed the Queen come not*, M. N. D. II. 1). After a past tense the auxiliary *should* is used (*She bade me—I should teach him*, Othello, I. 3, Abbott).*

§ 46. *To* was sometimes used before the inf. where we omit it (*They would—to have defeated*, M. N. D. IV. 1), and on the other hand is omitted where we use it (*would enforce me marry*, Two G. of V. IV. 3), and especially in such phrases, as *it were best* (*'twere best pound you*, Two G. of V. I. 1). It is sometimes omitted in the former of two clauses and inserted in the latter, this being especially frequent where the principal verb is an auxiliary or in form like one.† *To* is often preceded by *for*, when expressing a purpose, similar to the Old French *por* (*pour*) à with the inf., a usage which is still more common in Early English (Cf. the Scandinavian languages, which likewise use other prepositions in the same way). The use of *to* still shows traces of the old dat. inf. being not only used with the simple inf., but also to express any relation of the gerund (*Thou'lt torture me to leave* [for leaving] *unspoken*

* Abbott's *Shakesp. Gr.* § 361-369.

† But in the instance given by Abbott (*And let them all encircle him about, And fairy-like to pinch the unclean knight*), the *to* may be the A.-S. intensive particle *to*, German *ser*, as Prof. Corson suggests.

that *Which to be spoke* [by being spoken] *would torture thee*, Cymb. V. 5. Abbott).* May not this inf. be preserved in the phrase *given to*, as *given to talking*? (Cf. the German *dem Sprechen zugeben*, where the inf. is used as a noun in the *dative*). Spenser and Shakespeare have an archaic use of the inf. in *-en* (*To killen*, Pericles II.). In some dialects of southern England the inf. in *-ie* (*-ye*, *-y*; A.-S. *-ian*) still exists (*Chell whistle and sing and capery vor oll yow cheesen*, Exmoore dialect; Morris).†

§ 47. The participial termination *-ing* represents the old dat. inf., the prs. prt., and the verbal noun in *ung*; and Shakespeare appears to have used it occasionally for the *-en* of the pst. prt. (*his all-obeying breath*, A. and C. III. 13. 77, Abbott). The ancient termination may perhaps be represented by the *in'*, frequently occurring in Scotch writers, the *-d* having probably been dropped, as in many other words where it follows an *-n* (*An' gettin' fou and unco happy*, Tam O'Shanter), and this appears the more likely as the Scotch retain the participle in *-and* till a very late period; the *-d* being perhaps silent, as in Swedish and Danish.‡ The form *-and* still occurs in Spenser (*glitter-and*, i. 7, 29, Koch). In some points the verbal has changed in its use; thus, we do not use it as a noun followed by *of*, unless preceded by *the* or a defining adjective, but this was frequently done in Elizabethan English (*admiring of his qualities*, M. N. D. I. 1; *warbling of one song*, III. 2); while it was sometimes omitted where we

* Abbott's *Shakesp. Gr.* § 349-359.

† Morris's *Ag. of Inw.* lxiii.; Morris's *Engl. Accid.* 173; Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 340.

‡ "If an *l* or *n* precedes a *d* in the same syllable, it is always silent," Ollendorff's *Dänische Grammatik*, p. 9; *Schwedische Grammatik*, ix. Perhaps in early English this *-d* was also silent, and the ending *-en* (*d*) then corrupted to *-ing*, as even at the present day the colored minister at the South may leave his *kitching* duties to address his *brethering*.

could not do so (*In the delaying death*, M. for M. IV. 2, Abbott). An adjective is sometimes used without the prt. (*Foy absent, grief is present*—Rich. II. I. 3, Abbott), which, in the case of a simple word like *being*, is sometimes implied (*With this field-dew [being] consecrate*—M. N. D. V. 2). The *-en* in the pst. prt. of strong verbs frequently drops the *-n* as already said, and sometimes we also find irregular participles (*have droven*, A. and C. IV. 7, Abbott). The *-d* of the pst. prt. of weak verbs ending in *-te*, *-t*, and *-d* is more frequently omitted than now (*create, consecrate*, M. N. D. V. 2). The prefix *y-* is rarely used and then only archaically, being thus found also in more modern English. Sackville is quoted by Abbott as using it even before a pres. prt. (*y-causing*), to which we may add Milton's *star-y-pointing* (Epitaph on Shakespeare). The *-ed* of this prt. has occasionally the force of *-able* (*Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels*, Rich. III. I. 4, Abbott), and is also used more commonly than at present in the manner of the A.-S. dat. absolute (*who removed, Earl Surrey was sent thither*, Henry VIII. II. 1, Abbott) and sometimes expresses a condition where we would use *if* (*This sport, well carried, shall be chronicled*, M. N. D. III. 2).*

§ 48. The imperfect is either a simple tense or is compounded by *did* with the inf. (*called, did call*). The perfect is formed by the present of *have*, the plup. by the past, with the pst. prt., both with transitives and intransitives. The use of the parts of *be* with intransitives for the same purpose was more common in Elizabethan than in present English. The fut. is formed by *shall* and *will* used with the inf.; the fut. perf. by the same auxiliaries used with the perf. inf., observing the distinction in both

* Abbott's *Shakesp. Gr.* § 342-345, § 372-381; Mätzner's *Engl. Gr.* I. 327; Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 342; Morris's *Engl. Accid.* p. 180.

tenses of using *shall* in the 1 p. sg. and pl. and *will* in the other persons. In Shakespeare's time this distinction was not yet made: "we had not then reached that stage of politeness which shrinks from the appearance of speaking compulsorily to another" (Fowler). *Shall* was used in all three persons to denote inevitable futurity, being connected in meaning with *must*; and gradually assumed the meaning of compulsory necessity in the 2 and 3 p., when displaced in its fut. signification by *will*, which is sometimes used with the 2 p. in an imp. sense, like the Greek optative with *äv* (*you'll leave your noise anon, ye rascals*; Henry VIII. v. 4, Abbott). The fut. is sometimes used for the subj. and inf. (*If thou refuse and wilt encounter with my wrath*, W. T. II. 3, Abbott), similar to the use of the fut. for the subj. in the silver age of Latinity (*—ita cum, qui res invenire et disponere sciet*—Quint. X. 1.); and it seems also to have signified habitual recurrence (*When a man's servant shall play the cur with him*, Two G. of V. IV. 4). The past of these auxiliaries is used with the inf. to express the present conditional, and with the perf. inf. to form the past of the same mood. *Should*, the past of *shall*, underwent the same modifications of meaning, and is therefore not used with the 2 p. to denote simple futurity; but in a conditional clause, where there can be no idea of compulsion, it is retained, "would following in the consequent clause; but Shakespeare uses *should* in both clauses (*you should refuse to perform your father's will, if you should refuse to accept him*, M. of V. I. 2. 100, Abbott). *Should* is frequently used to express contingent futurity (*Any mortal hearing it should straight fall mad*, T. A. II. 3, 102, 104, Abbott) and also in the sense of ought (*Every man should take his own*, M. N. D. III. 2). Like the German *sollen* it denotes a statement not made by the speaker (*But didst thou hear without wonder how thy name should be so*

hanged and carved about these trees, A. Y. L. III. 2; Abbott, cf. § 14), and occasionally has the force of *was to* (*About his son that should have married a Shepherd's daughter*, W. T. IV. 4, Abbott). The tenses of the potential mood are formed by *may* and *can*. The present with the inf. forms the pres., with the perf. inf. the perf.; the past with the inf. forms the imperf., and the pluperf. with the perf. inf. *Can* sometimes retains its original signification (*All I can*, Two G. of V. I. 5), and *may* is also still found in the sense of *magan* (*I might see*, M. N. D. II. 2; *I never may believe*, V. 1), and is frequently used optatively like other verbs in Elizabethan English. *Must*, also used as a potential auxiliary, originally meant ability or power, but passed over into the signification of *ought*, and is now generally used in a compulsory sense; in Shakespeare, however, it sometimes denotes merely definite futurity (*A tomb must cover thy sweet eyes*, M. N. D. v. 1). The 1 and 3 p. of the imp. are compounded by *let* with the inf. In negations *do* was not always inserted before *not* in Shakespeare's time (*she not denies it*, M. A. about N. IV. 1).^{*} The passive of all verbs is formed by the parts of *be* used with the pst. prt.; *weorðan* being preserved only in the phrase *woe worth the day* (Bible; Lady of the Lake).[†]

§ 49. In the substantive verb, Wallis gives *bee*, *beēst*, *bee*; pl. *bee*, as regular forms for the subj., but also for the ind.,^{*} being especially used in the pl. (*Those be rubies*, M. N. D. II. 1). *Be* is generally used with some notion of doubt, question, thought, etc. (*I wonder if the lion be to speak*, M. N. D. V. 1), and the same applies to *were* in its subj. use. Early writers show a tendency to use *were* for *be* after *that* in subordinate clauses and also *should* for *shall*

^{*} Abbott's *Shakesp. Gr.* § 295, 303-329, 346.

[†] Mätzner's *Engl. Gr.* I. 314, etc.

in the same case (*Go we fast that we were there*, Abbott). *Wast*, *wert* are modern formations and not found in Early English. *Were* is the only verb in the language that retains the distinction of sg. and pl. *Ablaut*, and we find the latter used in the 2 p. sg. yet, even as late as Shakespeare (*Thou were*, K. Lear, Mätzner).* In Northampton, Bedford, and Somerset, *am* is retained in all persons: *he'm, we'm, you'm*; in Somerset, *I be, thee bist, we be, you be, they be* are also usual, and in Cheshire and Shropshire *we been, you been, they been*, while in Dorsetshire we find *I be, thee bist, he is; we be, you be, thē be*; and in northern dialects the forms of Chaucer's clerks are still customary: *I is, ye is, we is, you is, they is*.†

§ 50. *Agan*, as already said (§ 39), was displaced by *own*, but it is still represented by the weak verb *owe*, which Shakespeare uses for *own*. *Ought* is properly a past of *owe*, but was already used by Chaucer as a present. The *l* in *could* has crept in, in modern times, probably from analogy with *should* and *would*. The weak verb *con* is derived from *Cunnan*, as also *cunning*, properly a pres. prt., and *uncouth* a pst. prt. *Dugan* is perhaps retained in the phrase *how do you do?* (but cf. the Dutch *Hoe maakt gij het?*) The weak verb *dare* is derived from *Durran*, which is still found as a genuine preteritive in the 3 p., *he dare*. The *y* in *may* represents an older *g*, *mag*, as in many other words (*dag*, *day*, etc.). Of *Mōtan*, nothing has remained but the pst. *must*, but it is occasionally used in an archaic way (*All that mote to luxury invite*, Childe Harold I. xi.). *Munan* has disappeared and also *Unnan*, unless we accept the etymology that derives *an* from it, just as *if* was once held to be derived

* Abbott's *Shakesp. Gr.* § 298-301; Mätzner's *Engl. Gr.* I. 366.
Morris's *Engl. Accid.* 181-182.

† Koch's *Engl. Gr.* I. 348.

from *Gifan*, both being said to be imperatives. *Own*, meaning to confess, may have arisen from the 1 p. sg. (*an, on*). *Wist*, the past of *Witan*, frequently occurs in the Bible, and is still occasionally used at the present day (*wist not whose they were*, Bryant; Mätzner) as well as the present *wot*. Shakespeare has *I, you, they wot* and also *wotting*, and it is found in a weak form in Sackville; *wotted*. The dat. inf. *to-witanne* is preserved in *to wit*, used adverbially, but *I wis* is probably derived from the adverb *ywis* (German *gewiss*). The *o* in the Early English forms of *Willan* is still preserved in *wont*. It is sometimes still found combined with the negative *ne* (*I nill relate*, Pericles, III.).*

* Morris's *Engl. Accid.* 183-191; Mätzner's *Engl. Gr.* I. 370-374, 322; Koch's *Engl. Gr.* 349-359; Earle's *Phil. of the Engl. Tongue*, 250.

APPENDIX.

THE IRREGULAR VERBS IN ENGLISH.

I.

STRONG VERBS.

NONE of the strong verbs of the 5th, 6th, 7th and 17th classes have been preserved as strong verbs in the English. The remnants of the other classes are as follows :

FIRST CLASS.

Fall	<i>Feallan</i>
Hold	<i>Healdan</i>
Wax	<i>Weaxan</i>

SECOND CLASS.

Blow	<i>Bldwan</i>
Crow	<i>Crðwan</i>
Know	<i>Cndwan</i>
Mow	<i>Mðwan</i>
Sow	<i>Sðwan</i>
Throw	<i>þrðwan</i>

THIRD CLASS.

Beat	<i>Bedtan</i>
Hew	<i>Hedwan</i>

FOURTH CLASS.

Grow	<i>Grðwan</i>
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EIGHTH CLASS.

Hang	<i>Hangan</i>
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NINTH CLASS.

Awake	<i>Wacan</i>
Bake	<i>Bacan</i>
Draw	<i>Dragan</i>
Forsake	<i>Forsacan</i>
Grave	<i>Grafan</i>
Load }	
Lade }	<i>Hladan</i>
Shake	<i>Scacan</i>
Shave	<i>Scafan</i>
Stand	<i>Standan</i>
Take	<i>Tacan</i>

TENTH CLASS.

Slay	<i>Sleahan</i>
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ELEVENTH CLASS.

Heave	<i>Hebban</i>
Swear	<i>Swerian</i>
Shape	<i>Scyppan</i>

TWELFTH CLASS.

Eat	<i>Etan</i>
Quoth	<i>Cweðan</i>
Speak	<i>Sprecan</i>
Tread	<i>Tredan</i>

THIRTEENTH CLASS.

Bid	<i>Biddan</i>
Lie	<i>Ligan</i>

FOURTEENTH CLASS.

Get	<i>Getan</i>
Give	<i>Gifan</i>
See	<i>Seon</i>

FIFTEENTH CLASS.

Bear	<i>Beran</i>
Break	<i>Brecan</i>
Shear	<i>Sceran</i>
Steal	<i>Stelan</i>
Tear	<i>Teran</i>
Weave	<i>Wefan</i>

SIXTEENTH CLASS.

Come	<i>Cuman</i>
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EIGHTEENTH CLASS.

Fight	<i>Feohtan</i>
Help	<i>Helpan</i>
Melt	<i>Meltan</i>
Swell	<i>Swellan</i>

NINETEENTH CLASS.

Choose	<i>Ceðsan</i>
Cleave	<i>Cleofan</i>
Fly	<i>Fleofan</i>
Freeze	<i>Fredsan</i>
Rive	<i>Reofan</i>
Seeth	<i>Seofan</i>
Shoet	<i>Sceofan</i>

TWENTIETH CLASS.

Abide	<i>Abidan</i>
Bite	<i>Bitan</i>
Chide	<i>Cidan</i>
Drive	<i>Drifan</i>
Ride	<i>Ridan</i>
Rise	<i>Rtsan</i>
Shine	<i>Sctnan</i>
Slide	<i>Sitdan</i>
Smite	<i>Smitan</i>
Stride	<i>Stridan</i>
Strike	<i>Strican</i>
Thrive	<i>prifan</i>
Writhe	<i>Writan</i>
Write	<i>Writan</i>

TWENTY-FIRST CLASS.

Begin	<i>Beginnan</i>
Bind	<i>Bindan</i>
Cling	<i>Clingan</i>
Drink	<i>Drincan</i>
Find	<i>Findan</i>
Grind	<i>Grindan</i>
Run	<i>Rinnan</i>
Shrink	<i>Scrincan</i>
Sing	<i>Singan</i>
Sink	<i>Sincan</i>
Sling	<i>Slingan</i>
Slink	<i>Slincan</i>
Spin	<i>Spinnan</i>
Spring	<i>Springan</i>
Sting	<i>Stingan</i>
Stink	<i>Stincan</i>
Swing	<i>Swingan</i>
Swim	<i>Swimman</i>
Win	<i>Winnan</i>
Wind	<i>Windan</i>
Wring	<i>Wringan</i>

The following verbs are weak in Anglo-Saxon:

Dig	<i>Dician</i>	String	<i>Strengan</i>
Ring	<i>Hringan</i>	Strow	<i>Stredwian</i>
Show	<i>Scedwian</i>	Wear	<i>Werian</i>
Stick	<i>Stician</i>		

The verb from which *Strive* is derived is unknown, but it belongs probably to the 20th class; *Fling* is derived from northern dialects; *Saw* is derived from A.-S. *sage*, and should properly therefore be weak.

II.

IRREGULAR WEAK VERBS.

The following weak verbs, whose stem ends in *-d* with a long vowel, form the past by shortening the stem-vowel :

Bleed	<i>Blēdan</i>	Lead	<i>Lēdan</i>
Breed	<i>Brēdan</i>	Read	<i>Rēdan</i>
Feed	<i>Fēdan</i>	Hide	<i>Hȳdan</i>
Speed	<i>Splēdan</i>	Betide	<i>Betēdan</i>

The following verbs, whose stem ends in *-t* with a long vowel, form the past in the same manner :

Meet	<i>Mētan</i>	Light	<i>Lihhtan</i>
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The following verbs ending in *-d*, with preceding liquid and short vowel, change the *-d* to *-t* in the pst. :

Bend	<i>Bendan</i>	Shend	<i>Scendan</i>
Lend	<i>Lēnan</i>	Spend	<i>Spendan</i>
Rend	<i>Hrendan</i>	Wend	<i>Wendan</i>
Send	<i>Sendan</i>	Gird	<i>Gyrdan</i>

The last named is also regular; Build is wanting in A.-S., probably derived from *Bold*, a house; Geld, which is also regular, is of uncertain A.-S. derivation.

The following verbs shorten the stem-vowel and add *-d* :

Hear *Hýran* Shoe *Scôþjan*

Flee is from *Fleðhan* of the strong conjugation.

Keep (*Cêpan*) shortens the vowel and adds *-t* in the past, and the following verbs, which were strong in A.-S. have probably been imitated :

Creep *Credþan* Weep *Wêþan*
Sleep *Sleþan* Leap *Hledþan*
Sweep *Swedþan*

The following verbs change *v* into *f* before the suffix *t* :

Leave *Læfan* Reave *Redfian*

Cleave is from the strong verb *Cleðfan*. The following verbs also belong here :

Lose *Losian* Feel *Fêlan*
Mean *Mænan.*

Deal (*Dêlan*) is sometimes regular, as well as Lean (*Hlinian*) ; Kneel, which is also regular, was probably formed by a mixture of A.-S. *Cneðwian* and French *genouiller* ; Dream, also sometimes regular, is related to A.-S. *Drêman*, to shout, exult ; while the corresponding words in German and Danish mean to dream.

If *p*, *s*, *x*, *n*, or *l* follows a short vowel of the stem, some verbs add *-t* instead of *-ed*, this being formerly more frequent than now :

Dip *Dyppan* Mix *Miscan*
Drop *Dropian* Learn *Leornian*
Step *Steppan* Spell *Spellian*
Bless *Bletsian* Spill *Spillan*

Burn is from *Beornan*, which is strong and *Bernan*, weak. Some verbs of French derivation are sometimes conjugated thus : Pass, Press, etc.

Words ending in *-t* with a preceding consonant, remain unchanged in the past :

Let	<i>Lætān</i>	Sweat	<i>Swætān</i>
Set	<i>Settān</i>	Thrust	<i>prætān</i>
Shut	<i>Scyttān</i>	Wet	<i>Wætān</i>
Spit	<i>Spittān</i>	Hight	<i>Hdtān</i>

Split is probably derived from the Danish, as well as Put ; Cast, Cut, Hit, are derived from northern dialects ; Cost and Quit, the latter also regular, come from the French ; Hurt is of foreign origin ; Burst is from the strong verb *Berstan*, while Slit is derived from *Siltān*, strong and *Slætān*, weak ; Knit (*Cnyttān*) is also regular.

Some verbs ending in *-d* with a short vowel, remain also unchanged :

Shed	<i>Sceddan</i>	Shred	<i>Screddean</i>
	Spread		<i>Sprædean</i>

The following weak verbs forming their past by a change of root vowel are derived from the 4th A.-S. weak Conjugation :

Tell	<i>Tellan</i>	Buy	<i>Byegan</i>
Sell	<i>Syllan</i>	Seek	<i>Sæcan</i>
Bring	<i>Bringan</i>	Beseech	<i>Bisæcan</i>
Think	<i>þencan</i>	Work	<i>Wyrkan</i>

The last is also regular.

The following verbs belong to those verbs of the 3d Conjugation, whose stem ends in double *c*, or in *c* alone with a preceding long vowel ; and which in the past take *-hte* and frequently also in the pst. prt. *-ht*.

Catch, which is probably derived from northern dialects ; Reach, (*Ræcan*) is also regular ; Teach is from *Tæcan*.

Some verbs drop the last consonant of the stem before the *-d* of the pst. tense and participle:

Make *Macian* Have *Habban*

Clothe, from *Clithian*, is also regular.

The irregularity of the following verbs is more of an orthographical nature: Pay and Stay from the French; Lay (*Lecgan*) and Say (*Secgan*).*

* Loth's *Ags.-Engl. Gr.* pp. 182-189; 191-196. Mätzner's *Engl. Gr.* I. 329-344; 346-366. See also Morris's *Engl. Accid.*; Earle's *Phil. of the Engl. Tongue*; Koch's *Engl. Gr.* etc.

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